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ABSTRACT

This document presents a report of the proceedings of a conference at which student leaders from all types of colleges and universities all over the country attempted to answer the question, "What should be done to reform American higher education?" At the bottom of every philosophical system there is a fundamental conception of man. The students tried to envision an educational system compatable with a belief in the basic rationality and decency of the individual on the one hand, and the belief in man's absolute freedom of choice on the other. Interms of actual academic reform, the students were more interested in the spirit in which things were done than in specific goals, programs, and structural changes. The students generally felt that the present system would work well as it is if the people running it were differently motivated--if they oriented programs toward the individual first, last, and foremost. (HS)

CHAMPAIGN REPORT

by PAUL DANISH

Edited by: Edward Schwartz

A CONFERENCE ON

EDUCATIONAL REFORM—A STUDENT VIEW

Champaign, Illinois

1-10 September 1966

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The United States National Student Association is indebted to the Ford Foundation whose grant made this conference possible.

Foreword

The release of the Champaign Report marks the fruition of several months' work in ordering and reordering the assorted comments of a conference which defied this form of presentation. Had McLuhan attended, he might be chuckling at our attempt to translate an implosive experience into linear terms. The process of the event was as important to its development as was its content. If not more so.

In part, at least, the tone of the meeting was created by the dual problem which we set for ourselves—to discuss education in the context of examining our own immediate experience at Champaign. Understandably, this created certain difficulties. The conversation frequently shifted back and forth from an examination of group process to discourse on the university. When the transition was clear, the effect was electric—we created our own model for change while describing its relevance to higher education as a whole.

In many cases, however, the transition was not clear. A discussion of authority patterns in the university would yield a heated interchange on the non-participation or dominance of one or another portion of the group. Even lunch breaks witnessed a form of psychodynamic lobbying by which participants who had lost effectiveness in the previous session would marshall their forces for the remainder of the day. It sounds vicious. At some points, it was. We were a cross between a "T-Group" and a symposium.

Although most of the participants had undergone some form of "liberal arts" curriculum, variations in experience and direction were enormous. Four had attended large state universities; two were graduates of small liberal arts schools. One had been student body president at a commuter school in New York, while another had served a similar role in a city university with a highly developed campus community. Our one female participant had attended a small Catholic women's college. One had just finished a year's study at Oxford on a Rhodes Scholarship; another intended to do so.

Nor did the variations end there. Majors encompassed everything from Physics to Communications with, perhaps, a bias in favour of the social sciences. We represented NSA officers, campus journalists, radical activists, research assistants, conference planners, and student government administrators. Even our experiences in educational reform differed—two had led "T-Groups"; one had formed an experimental college; a couple had taught in tutorial programs; one had aided in the establishment of an institute; another had assisted in researching a major survey of Catholic education.

Yet, ironically, the participants were united in resisting typologies of this kind. Above all, we were eclectics—young people who had fought hard for a sense of ourselves in an academic world which had made such a

battle extremely difficult. We had switched majors, travelled abroad, led protests, written columns, formed educational experiments, and tried to put the pieces together. At Champaign, each of us demanded from the group no less than we had demanded from our respective universities—a respect for the rough edges of our uniqueness as beings and actors, and a sensitivity to the process by which we explored our subject and each other.

To the educational community and the public, the Champaign Report will appear radical, elusive, even utopian. It becomes more so when one takes seriously the warning included in the section on "Current Problems in Higher Education": We became painfully aware that if someone really put his mind to it, he could produce an institutional hell using all the techniques which we suggest. The programmer who applies our specific suggestions to his university and assumes that he has solved the problems will have missed our point entirely.

At base, we plea for a change in attitude more than a redefinition of formulae. Mr. Danish, I think, makes this point well. We offer neither blueprints nor models nor pre-packaged learning laboratories. Just as our group had to feel itself out, so the university must struggle with its own internal being. What we would convey, if we could, is a sense of the human —and a sense of the urgency.

EDWARD SCHWARTZ

31 March 1967

EDUCATIONAL REFORM—A STUDENT VIEW

THE QUESTION was put to us: "What should be done to reform American Higher Education?" Sometimes, it is said, one does not object to a question nearly so much as to the way in which it is stated. We —being in a rather critical mood—immediately objected.

It wasn't that we didn't have some specific proposals for educational reform. There were plenty. What bothered us was the very audacity of attempting to diagnose and prescribe for the aspirations and needs of some six million students—not to mention the faculties and administrations attempting to serve them. It should be understood at the outset that our objection was not based on self-effacement; no one lacked the necessary ego. What bothered us, as it subsequently became clear, was that such an approach was inherently contradictory to our views as to what education ought to accomplish.

At first glance, this might seem to be an absurd objection. An unkind critic might suggest that, when we were asked to present a point of view, we replied that our point of view was that we should have no point of view. Such an inference, however, would miss the point. Our thinking went something like this: the American system of higher education relied heavily on

theories and programs fashioned to satisfy a group, or even a mass of students, without regard for the diversity within it. While there are a few denominators common to all students—including, at this point, that of discontent—these are less relevant to human development than the characteristics which differentiate one student from another. Any prepackaged program for "higher education" must, of necessity, ignore these differences. Yet this is the kind of program which we have been asked to produce. We cannot do this; to do so would be to imitate the mistakes of the present.

In any discussion of education, both our point of departure and the goal centered on the student as an individual. We had to adopt a methodology that was consistent with this perspective.

As might be expected, this did not lead to a particularly ordered agenda. It might be useful, however, to subdivide our deliberations into three broad and interlocking topics: 1) Purposes and Objectives of Higher Education; 2) Current Problems in High Education and 3) Student Power. The last term is not meant to conjure up lurid images of thousands of giggling undergraduates storming administration buildings; it became the shorthand term to describe the necessary prerequisite for student efforts to achieve educational reform.

Our first task—as is usually the case in projects such as this one—was to establish some working definitions, and the first definition we needed was of the word "education."

PURPOSES AND OBJECTIVES OF HIGHER EDUCATION

Whether or not we ever arrived at a meaningful, explicit definition of education is problematic. We made a number of stabs at it, but most of our attempts were limited by the context of the discussions in which they took place. By the end, we had developed a fairly clear notion of what an education should consist and what an educated man should be. At the beginning, however, we had a much clearer conception of what didn't constitute education than what did.

First, we felt that education was more than simple training, although training could be a part of one's education. We agreed that the mere transmission of knowledge was not education. The fact that a man had memorized either the laws of physics or the laws of New Jersey did not in itself make him an educated man, although, in the process of so doing, he might become educated. More often than not, however, he does not.

> American universities are too oriented toward vocational purposes. Institutions oriented toward vocational goals cannot create the type of atmosphere in which real learning and growth take place. As a result, American institutions of higher education have become constricting rather than freeing structures. The best vocational people transcend

vocations. Students should expect to transcend disciplines. Education requires aggressive respect for all individual positions in a non-hierarchical social structure.*

That universities train doctors, lawyers, physicists, teachers, and home economists was not our complaint. What we deemed odious was that such training is often in and of itself considered the "mark" of an educated man. We were not willing to allow pedantry—even elegant, technological pedantry —to be confused with education.

Higher education in the past has been too oriented toward disciplines, methodology, and the search for ordered knowledge. Higher learning should teach self-education more than knowledge; should clarify questions rather than provide answers; should encourage the search for ambiguity rather than certainty.

Second, we felt that education is more than fulfilling the requirements for a degree. One of the aspects of America's higher learning which we found most distressing is that, as the nation moves closer to a state of universal higher education, there is a growing tendency to equate the symbol—the degree—with the substance. We were concerned most that, as the educational apparatus continues to grow, this line of development will be followed to its *reductio ad absurdum*, wherein the educational process would become no more than one of bestowing credentials. A style of inquiry and decision making would develop in national life which would amount to little more than the medieval notion that proof constitutes a plausible appeal to higher authority. "The mass-produced degree does not, and cannot, meet our goals for higher education."

On the other hand, we did not argue for the abolition of degrees. We were aware that the college degree has served as a significant instrument of upward mobility in the history of the country, and that increasing the number of people who hold them is a legitimate objective for the educational system. When the process of bestowing a degree in itself becomes the major goal of a college, however, (as opposed to the development of the intellectual values which the degree is supposed to symbolize), the degree becomes a barren artifact. If the degree is to have any significance at all, the tendency to allocate educational resources primarily on the basis of the number of degrees-granted-per-annum must be arrested and reversed. Failure to do so would continue an enormously destructive self-deception.

Along the same lines, we examined the role of expertise in education. Education, we felt, should not encourage a deferral to expertise on the part of either the student or the teacher—if anything, it should involve sharp questioning. This is hardly an original concept: educated men have been

*All quotations included in this report are those expressed during the conference by the participants.

making the same point for centuries. Nonetheless, it often seems as though the whole educational system conspires to discourage such questioning. The basic instructional tool of the university—the lecture—inherently perverts the concept of critical evaluation by a) establishing the professor as an expert and b) making it extremely difficult to question him. Interrupting a lecture with a question takes courage; persons who have successfully conducted a dialogue with a teacher in a large lecture section are probably as rare as Medal of Honour winners—and in their own way about as gutty. Further, the necessity for conferring credentials mitigates against too much questioning. The process of accreditation demands the adoption of some sort of objective standard, and an objective standard demands some level of arbitrary certainty. "Even the subjective essay examination is essentially objective; it is an objective measure of a student's verbal—or better yet—journalistic skills." Under such circumstances, too much critical examination and re-evaluation can be a dangerous thing—especially toward the end of the term. Indeed, by the time the student leaves college, he may feel that there is little left to learn—that he has become an expert.

The effect of this sort of system—whose chief justification appeals to "the most efficient distribution of limited resources"—stifles the faculty as well as the students. If a man's job conspires to make him an ephemerally questioned expert, he is apt to try to become one. The result is the caste system, which one conference participant condemned as follows:

> The caste system must be broken down in the universities. It causes destructive infighting, snobbery-oriented hierarchies, and artificial divisions between the teacher and the taught. Ideally, administrators, faculty and students would all be considered equal members of an academic community, with any one of them able to teach, learn or administrate—depending on abilities, qualifications, and circumstances. Immediately, all professional ranks should be wiped out: some faculty should administrate, some administrators should teach, and students should be given legitimacy in teaching and administrative roles.

What we are asking, however, is not so much a restructuring of specific institutions within the university as a basic change in values on the part of educators. In essence, we are asking that they implement the principles to which they have been paying homage through the ages.

> The difficulty with our position is that it calls for radical goal-orientation change by faculty, administrators, and students. Faculty must change from wanting to impart knowledge to teaching and learning. Administrators must devalue efficiency—their "efficiency" is rarely efficient—in favour of creativity, democracy and learning by doing. Students must seek, not so much knowledge, as self-understanding and growth.

Having decided, then, that training, degree-granting, and expertise are not in themselves adequate inputs for a definition of education, with what

are we left? As might be expected, answering this question caused us a good deal of difficulty. Our answer emerged—perhaps unfortunately—as a feeling more than an explicit statement. It is imperfectly expressed by the following rubric: "The goal of higher education should be a) to free people by b) teaching them how to learn."

One cannot explain this deceptively simple statement succinctly. Rather than attempt a lengthy explanation, it would be better to quote at some length the participants of the conference as they addressed themselves to this point:

> Higher eduucation should move toward student-centered learning. A principal goal of higher education should be teaching people how they learn best. This must be done on an individual basis, and will take place best when students are involved intimately and constantly in determining their own programs and those of the institution as a whole. Higher education must begin to concentrate on individuals rather than groups. Knowledge sought should be personal and revisable. One individual helped to grow is better than a lecture section well taught. The way to deal with group problems in the long run is by educating individual persons.
>
> People who have accepted a commitment to seek to learn, and no others, should be called students. Everyone at an institution of higher education should consider himself or herself a student as long as he or she cares to stay at that institution. A student in this sense is a person with a creative role in the world, and not a semi-infant in a state of supervised moratorium. A person who is acting and seeking to recapture the pattern of his actions in words, and using those ideas expressed in words to inform his next actions is expressing his ability to act in a context of thought: he is learning and teaching, and expressing his personal power. A university ought to consider itself a home for such people, and a place where people can learn to acquire the ability to live the life they want to lead.
>
> Our desire is not just to replace old teaching methods with new; it is to free members of the academic community that they might teach and learn in a style most suited to their abilities and desires. Since we can't always know how we teach or learn best, determining individual styles should be a process of negotiation rather than simple choice. We could recognize that . . . good ideas occur where you find them, and might as well come from an obnoxious freshman as from a tenured professor or college president.
>
> The goal of higher education—beginning during freshman week—should be to make its pursuers uncomfortable with their intellectual environment.
>
> How many degrees are given posthumously? How many [illegible] we refused to answer the cry for help with learning with such slogans as 'Fifty percent of our students will not graduate from this undergraduate college.' 'Engineering education is for non-humans.' 'Student participation in policy formation is a stop-gap for alienation.' 'Teaching is only one part of a faculty member's job here.' 'The athletes are jocks.'

'The real problem lies with the administration.' 'Faculty are concerned only with publishing and teaching grad students.' 'Oh, that's just Catholic higher education.' 'Student-centered learning is at least a first step toward making them humans.'

How many of us can hear in the language the kind of feelings that are being expressed: where are the curricula for this learning? Responsibilty for the language that I use when I think about you as a person is my permanent task if I am to be an honest person. And this means I will keep telling you what is on my mind and how I'm reading myself and you. Can our educational institutions presently permit this kind of telling?

There are two points which we cannot emphasize strongly enough. First, any definition of education must begin and end with the individual. The focus of examining the whole process should not be the six million students presently in college, but the single student with his unique set of aspirations, interests, and problems. If there is any validity to the concept of the university as a service institution, then the university must be geared in such a way that it can meet the unique needs of the given human being. Learning to us must be highly personal.

Second, though perhaps not so obviously, we considered the process by which one becomes educated as being the most important aspect of one's education. The individual's perception and understanding of that process are apt to have a far greater impact on him than any particular set of facts that it is supposed to convey. He who is taught democracy by rote will more likely be a dogmatist than a democrat. Tolerance is not taught under the lash. In short, we were more interested in learning from the process than in being processed. For us, the educational process becomes the goal of education which must be perfected.

It has been said of our generation that we are better at criticism and at problem solving than we are at developing general theories and approaches. This may well be. We spent a good part of our time considering specific problems presently found in the American university. These became the points of reference around which our theories were crystallized and applied. To understand the implications of the general, then we must now turn to some specifics.

CURRENT PROBLEMS OF HIGHER EDUCATION

It is not hard to think up premises for educational reform; in the course of a week's conferring, we had hundreds of them. Below are just a few of them gleaned from some sixty hours of discussion.

The artificial gulf between ideas and action must be bridged so that learners learn ideas for action.

All physical facilities must be directly related to the learning process, no matter what the cost in money and efficiency.

Faculty members ought to try taking a student to lunch sometime.

Smallness or largeness have no inherent value in an institution, but continued opportunity for contact with diverse primary groups must be offered to all students.

Efficiency has been overrated as an educational device, and chaos has been underrated.

Institutions of higher learning are too oriented to the male subculture.

We must develop devices for the continued examination of what is significant and what is insignificant learning.

Where the institution won't make provision for felt needs of a group of people, every aid must be offered them in developing a parallel structure.

Base learning on problem solving. Get a bunch of freshman together and tell them: "We have a problem, and we want you to work on it for the next four years. How do you feed the world?" At the end of that time, you'll have sociologists and botanists and engineers and political scientists, and God knows what, but they will have learned because they had an important question to answer and because they thought their particular discipline might shed some light on it.

> All members of the institution must be involved in the totality of the educational process to learn and learn how to learn.
>
> A good college education is not a smooth transition, but rather a series of bewildering frustrations relieved by occasional insight into the human condition.
>
> Life is a membership problem. How we decide who is a citizen, who is a teacher, a student, a cop, a mother and father, a wife, a friend, a pet, a leader, an anything depends upon how we formally feel life has described those people's roles, as well as how I, as an individual member of me-ness decide to work with myself and life . . . How do I learn to expand my trust to large groups, to this country, to a body of men called teachers, deans, students, judges, families?

The fact that we could sit around and play this game—seemingly endlessly—bothered us. Not that we were disturbed by our own cleverness; we were worried by its consequences. Before long, we became painfully aware that if someone really put his mind to it, he could produce an institutional hell using all the techniques which we suggest. Nonetheless, there were some directions in the educational reform movement to which we responded favorably. While we were clear that these directions, or programs are not in themselves the solution, at least they appear to reflect the thinking of people who worry about the problems. In this context, we considered what follows:

1) THE SYSTEM: The purpose of college may be "education," but its function in society is the "production" of graduates. In order to fulfill this function, institutions of higher learning have developed over the years certain techniques for processing thousands of valuable young minds that each year storm the campus bearing unsullied notebooks and hard tuition. It was our contention that this methodology is becoming, in large measure, ossified.

Methods used during a period in which higher education was geared to the creation of a professional elite, capable of competing in one of several rigidly structured bureaucratic hierarchies, can no longer meet the needs of an era in which personal expression, fluidity, and inner direction have become important social goals. Typical was the following comment:

> The system of grades, credits, and papers operates in a manner which progressively stifles the individual's desire to learn and seek knowledge. A student is awarded more and more "pellets" in the form of grades and credits as his years of study progress. As a result, the rewards tend to become more and more a replacement for what should be the goal—symbol is valued over substance. The process should remove, rather than increase, the specific demands upon the student throughout his four years. Frequently, it does not. Even Honors Programs add to this problem by superimposing another system of even more rewards for the industrious student. The imposition of even fewer reward-punishment incentives will achieve the university's goals far more readily.

Grades and credits were not all that were criticized harshly. Some observed that even accepted policies such as length of the academic term and

class meeting time can be constrictive to real learning. Further, the definition of what is acceptable as university work was deemed far too narrow. Often students learn more from activities that are viewed as non-academic than they do in the classroom. For instance, the math major who spends two or three years tutoring in the slums may learn as much sociology or anthropology as students, but his work would be ignored by the academy. The editor of a large student newspaper may learn a great deal of english, politics, and administration in work which is still considered extra-curricular. Such work is educational in the best sense of the word, and, as such, it should be recognized and encouraged.

The best learning, it was felt, takes place when the system is flexible enough to permit the individual to learn in his own way. Yet, as long as the degree serves as a credential, there will be pressure to impose uniform standards for receiving it. At one point, it was suggested that the most direct way to solve the problem would be to eliminate degrees and transcripts. ("If a kid wants to be a chemist, let him figure out when he knows enough; if GM needs engineers, let them figure out who studied. Why should the university be a clearing-house for the military-industrial complex?") Generally, however, it was felt that less drastic adjustments could accomplish the same objective. While it is important to repeat that no specific suggestion presented during the Conference was offered as a final solution, it would be useful to consider our thoughts in a few areas to further clarify the implications of our orientation.

Academic Calendar: We felt that there is no reason why the academic calendar has to be outlined as arbitrarily as it usually is. The concept of units, in fact, could stand a major re-evaluation. At present, the colleges require the accumulation of a certain quantity of knowledge in order to get a degree. Why must it always be accumulated in semester or quarter sized hunks? The time sequence of a course should be tailored to its material, not to the convenience of the registrar.

Grades: We felt that pass-fail could probably eliminate most of the excesses. Under such a system, most of the gamesmanship in grading would become superfluous, and the student would be allowed to get, within limits, as much or as little out of a course as he felt he wanted. While the "uncertainty factor" might work to the advantage of those who must want to slip by—which is more to their detriment than to the school's—it might also serve as a spur for those who are actually interested in learning a certain body of material.

University Requirements: We felt that university requirements are beginning to get out of hand on many campuses. Atlhough usually justified on the basis that they are necessary for a student's broad education, often requirements are really included in the curriculum in order to serve the vested in-

terests of a particular academic department. On some campuses, there are as many as sixty semester hours of survey requirements to be fulfilled for the Bachelor's degree. At least, we felt that such requirements should be made more flexible. Most of them should probably be eliminated. If, however, an institution feels it incumbent upon itself to "expose" its charges to disciplines through courses in which they have no interest, it might consider making credit in such courses optional.

As was mentioned earlier, we felt that the conceptual and real borders of higher education ought to be expanded. Such things as work-study, social action, and independent research were deemed as legitimate educational devices as are lecture courses. They, and other resources of the community, should be more vigorously incorporated into the curriculum.

Exams: Two points deserve special emphasis. First, it struck us that at present most of the system functions on the basis of reward-punishment. If the student does what is expected, he is rewarded—ultimately, with a degree —if he doesn't, he is punished—in extreme cases, with expulsion. There are, we feel, better ways of carrying out the educational process—the "continuing experiment" approach, to name just one. Reward-punishment should be considered only one tool among many. When it is used, its limitations should be kept in mind.

> For the most part, reward-punishment is a pernicious thing; the idea that you can beat wisdom into people belongs on history's junk heap. In certain cases, though, it can be useful as a spur. If it isn't overused, as it almost always is. A good rule of thumb might be that whenever you resort to the carrot-stick technique of education, you use a big carrot and a small stick.

In this context, it was suggested that exams should be used more as a teaching tool than as a diagnostic tool. Intelligent criticism is far more valuable to the student than a cryptic grade, often misleading and distorted. The question was asked, "Why flunk people out of school at all? Eventually they will either get something out of it or get tired of screwing around and go away on their own."

This brings up our second point—defining educational resources honestly. Why, indeed, flunk anyone out of school? Typically, the policy exists, not for any sound academic reason, but to maximize the distribution of scarce resources. When a university announces that it is raising its standards, more often than not it is saying that it got too many applications for admission. Yet, does this make sense for the students undergoing a process of self-development? The answer, we felt, lies in a de-emphasis on producing number of degrees as the criterion of efficiency, coupled with a frank appraisal of the resources of the school. The aim should be inspiration, not elimination. It is infrequently honored.

2) TEACHING AND LEARNING. Perhaps we live in the midst of an information explosion, but the basic techniques of teaching and learning have remained unchanged in centuries. Today's educational innovators often advocate greater reliance on the Socratic method and the symposium, which have been around for approximately 2,300 years. The traditionalists rely on the lecture method, which has been in use since the middle ages. One is tempted to say the most recent innovation in higher education is the mass produced book, which has been known for two or three centuries.

We did not, however, discover any great new or hitherto overlooked teaching device which would solve the problems of the academic world. So far as we could determine, no one has yet stumbled onto the royal road to algebra. We did feel, however, that some useful principles have been ignored in college teaching.

The first is the Hawthorne effect: industry's discovery that productivity increases when workers have a sense of participation and purpose in what they are doing. The Hawthorne effect was first noted when workers at a General Electric plant were told that they were participating in an experiment on the effect of physical surroundings on production. As it turned out, no matter how the working conditions were altered, production increased. The workers tried harder, because they felt they were part of something important. The lesson should be noted for teachers and students. What better

way to fire interest in learning than by involving the student intimately in planning his education? The whole thing is a great experiment anyway—why shouldn't students be members of the research team, rather than just rates in the maze? Original approaches in planning a course of study should be encouraged rather than denigrated. If arbitrary requirements get in the way, they ought to be suspended. Above all, a style of trial-and-error should replace the present tendency to wreak retribution from any one of a number of institutional sources for presumed mistakes.

Second is the question of teaching styles and approaches. Far too much emphasis, we felt, has been placed upon the lecture as the basic teaching tool. In choosing the style in which a course is to be conducted, one should consider both the abilities of the teacher, and the needs of the students. The nature of the material should also be considered. It might be quite useful for students and teachers to consult before instruction actually begins on how the course should be organized (see Hawthorne effect). At present, we fear, the only factors considered in such decisions are tradition and the size of the classroom.

Third, there is the matter of the new media. We felt that its potentials are revolutionary; its use thus far has been disappointing. Closed circuit television, for instance, need not create monstrous lecture sections; it could just as effectively be used to free the faculty from the drudgery of daily classes, to permit them more time to meet students individually. Why couldn't the university install TV channels and broadcast its survey courses in the evening? Tape recording could eliminate the need for classroom attendance and vastly increase the flexibility of course scheduling. Programmed learning is in its infancy. The possibilities are infinite. Thus far, universities have used technological innovations merely to cope with higher enrollments, and have ignored the potential for developing new techniques of instruction. The resistance to the new media can be minimized if its potential is explored and exploited.

Finally, there is the matter of resistance to change. It is entirely too difficult to get new policies approved. A student body is transitory: often by the time an innovation that might be useful to one group of students is implemented, a new group with entirely different needs has taken its place. Universities should build in plywood, not in stone. The motto of the academic community should be "hang loose."

3) THE CAMPUS-SOCIAL RELATIONS: We agreed that the ideal model for community relations within the university should be the creation of the "community of scholars"—which, of course, left us with the odious task of breathing new life into an old cliche. In this case, it was not that difficult, however. We started with the assumption that the present tripartate ordering of students, faculty, and administration is in direct conflict

with the concepts of community and scholarship. The adoption of such a social model—and almost every university in the country has adopted it—automatically dictates a dialectical relationship among its members. Implicit is the premise that each group has interests that are in conflict with those of the others. That such group-related vested interests are encouraged compromises the intellectual mission of the university.

Our answer was not to eliminate conflict from the campus, but to eliminate hierarchical distinctions—break down the caste system. A number of examples were offered as to how this might be done. Most of these involved an attempt to redistribute the work load within the university in such a way that no individual could easily identify with any given group for any length of time. There is no reason, for instance, that students and administrators could not assume teaching duties. Faculty and capable students could assume administrative duties. Administration and faculty should be both freed and encouraged to resume learning, both formally (in the classroom) and informally. We felt that no one should stay in the same job too long, and that all administrative and decision-making jobs should be rotated among members of the academic community. We agreed further that all policy-making functions should be in the hands of the academic community as a whole, including such matters as admissions, budget, departmental reviews, hiring and tenure procedures and decisions, preparation of the academic catalogue, degree requirements, public relations, building and construction, cultural programs, institutional research, and so forth. Opportunities for more informal contact should be increased. Additional coffee pots and lounges are sometimes as valuable as more classrooms and laboratories. Eliminate professional and adminstrative titles. The false dichotomy between teaching and research should be eliminated; research should be motivated by interest rather than by institutional pressures that reduce it to pedantry. More attention should be paid to the social mix in the dorms; universities might even consider letting accommodations to non-students.

The idea behind all this is not to create a more tranquil university by

placating the activists through a process of eliminating discrimination on the basis of ability. It is, rather, an effort to eliminate the functional approach to class distinctions within the academic community by organizing the university in such a way that all its members have a direct interest in all aspects of its organization, and that the point of departure for that interest is always academically oriented. For such a system to become practical, it is obvious that students, faculties, and administrations will have to re-orient themselves drastically. We do not feel, however, that such a task is impossible; it could probably be done quite rapidly if the spirit were willing. What is necessary is the application of the same sort of intellectual vigor and critical inquiry to the entire institution that presently is encouraged in the classroom.

Such a change in orientation can be seen in another light. Within any educational experiment, there has to be some feedback—some way of determining how things are going. Some power is needed to create this feedback. Education is for students, so why not student power?

Why indeed?

> The decision-makers at universities refuse to acknowledge the legitimate concern of students and the necessity of their involvement in the educational process. This may breed alienation, and all that concept stands for, but, more importantly, it is a definite detriment to the well-being of the institution from an objective administrative and structural standpoint. Students should not get bogged down in the question of who decides what in the final authority of some institutional structure, but should convincingly present the case for student involvement in the betterment of the institution itself rather than as a reaction to revolts or demands. A policy of consultation is a minimum.
>
> Also, it is largely the responsibility of the faculty and administration to create the atmosphere within which student efforts can maximally be utilized for the improvement of the institution. This includes the cultivation of a group or groups of students representing all students who are concerned about the education they get. I would hypothesize that the numbers of students this group has to represent will be small in most institutions on most issues. I also suppose that most student governments have become so institutionalized and exist to perpetuate school traditions and functions to such an extent that they cannot be modified enough to direct adequate attention to education.

However reasonable, much stands in the way of bringing about even such a modest state of affairs. Students aren't trusted by the community at large. Educators who are hardly immune from the pressures of that community, feel uncomfortable in listening to the counsel of students and acting upon it. Further, no one likes to share power unnecessarily, and those who exercise power in educational institutions are no different. "Why give power to students unless we have to?" The administrator can state correctly that his decisions are rational, since it is eminently rational to arrive at a certain conclusion if you are threatened with dismissal for reaching a different one.

The student can reply that such "rational" decisions can still be wrong decisions. Yet, what can be done about it? In 1964, the student body at Berkeley, in effect, fired the chancellor. Yet, at a tremendously high cost.

There is no simple way in which students can effect change within universities. Upon that much we agreed. What course of action we take, and what policies we advocate is determined almost entirely by the conditions on a particular campus. We hardly felt competent to prepare a recipe for change. We did, however, feel that there were certain things that could be done which would make change easier and improve its quality.

The major one is simple: eliminate paternalism from the university. If the university of today is a parent, then it is a bad parent, and ought to be hailed into court on charges of child abuse. It is often arbitrary and stupid in dealing with its charges. It is usually more interested in preserving its own standing in the community than in treating its "children" with compassion and understanding. In view of this, it is hardly surprising that there has been an upsurge recently in cases of institutional patricide.

Yet, the larger question is whether the university should act as a parent. The answer, we think, is no. One of the purposes of higher education is maturation. That cannot be accomplished under a system which treats its charges as juveniles. It is totalling self-defeating. If one is to become a mature, free, internally motivated, responsible individual, he must be treated as such. Freedom is not something that can be learned in the abstract. It must be lived to be known and understood.

If administrators appreciate students who are capable of taking part in the decision-making process, they must begin to treat their student bodies as though they were capable of so doing. They may be surprised to learn how many are prepared to do so at the present time, and how much sophistication can be developed in a short time.

This is not easy. It is far simpler to co-opt some acquiescent adolescents into the administrative structure than to encourage intelligent individuals who might often express dissenting opinions to join it. The recruiting of puppets is ultimately an exercise in futility, however. If it continues long enough, student power eventually takes the form of student revolt.

It is fairly clear that if students want change, they will have to push for it, just as every other group through history that has wanted to change has had to push for it. How they will do so will depend entirely on how their petitions are received. If they are received in a patronizing, paternal manner, they are apt to respond in a petulant, revolutionary one. If they are received reasonably, they are apt to respond in kind.

We would not advocate student revolt as a matter of course in effecting academic reform; yet we would support it when all else fails. We would

add that most institutions of higher learning are dangerously insensitive as to when all else has failed. Intelligent people are not going to be put off forever, if their perfectly reasonable petitions are repeatedly refused. For some reason, many institutions feel that, if they permit just the process of petition—but never act on results—they will be immune from internal strife. This represents an enormous self-delusion.

4) THE CAMPUS-PHYSICAL FACILITIES: Whatever else goes into one's education, we felt, the single greatest factor is that one lives there for a period of several years. What, after all, is more educational that living? Consequently, we were most interested in the physical environment of the campus, in the limitations placed upon the student and the opportunities open to him. Our interest for the most part extended beyond the perennial question of "what architectural style should the new administration building be?" (The usual choices are Wehrmacht Modern or Stalinist Gothic.) We were concerned with the more basic issue of what kind of facilities should be provided.

Specifically, our interest focused on housing accommodations. We felt that the environment in which the student lives, more than any other factor, may influence the quality of his academic work and determine his response to the university experience. Views on the quality of present living conditions were varied, and although the following condemnation of dormitories is more extreme than was the majority opinion of the participants, it does cast some light on the problem:

> As far as I'm concerned, universities should get out of the housing business as quickly as possible. Most dorms amount to little more than instant slums. They obliterate privacy, demean human dignity, and foster an adolescent sub-culture that is, at best, intellectual, at worst, anti-intellectual. The best that can be said about them is that they were designed to meet the housing needs of the student of the depression. Well glory! We are trying to educate the leaders of the 21st century, and we provide them with the finest accommodations of the 19th . . .
>
> The damned things are so easy to finance that students will be paying for—and forced to live in—antiquated housing into the year 2000.

While the criticisms of the conference were not so severe, our general objections to the poor quality of housing should not be minimized. We were most concerned about the development of lonely crowds in the name of efficient housing. Our goal was seemingly contradictory: devise a system of living units that minimized loneliness, yet maximized privacy. While we did not develop any definitive program, the rule of thumb which seemed to emerge was that housing was one area where students should be afforded a maximium opportunity to work out the particular problems themselves. Some of the specific proposals along this line are as follows:

> —place greater emphasis on co-operative housing, including, in the case of institutional housing, the possibility of subletting an entire dorm to

its residents with the understanding that they are comp· ·ly responsible for its operation.

—allow and encourage student built and owned housing, as in Canada.

—adopt suite and apartment design in future dorms which would, apart from permitting greater privacy, provide the opportunity for truly co-educational housing.

—add additional educational, recreational, and meeting places to dorms.

—create more multi-purpose buildings, in which both learning and living can take place.

—elicit student opinion in the designing of new dorms—not simply the views of those who intend to live in them, but also the comments of those who moved out of the old ones in disgust.

—convert antiquated structures into offices or classroom facilities. Student offices would be especially useful on campus where housing does not provide an agreeable study environment.

—do not use resident advisors as disciplinarians. It destroys their credibility as counselors.

Admittedly these suggestions are mixed—even contradictory. They were discussed with the understanding that not all campuses have the same ac-

commodations problems, and that what would be useful for one could be a disaster for another. What is significant is the spirit in which they were offered. We felt strongly that housing should be used to maximize individual growth—flexible enough to meet the differing needs of differing individuals. Consequently, we felt that structures are not the key to the problem nearly so much as the way in which they are administered. One can, after all, be miserable in a palace and happy in a slum. In planning administration of housing, it is critically important to take into account the limitations of the physical plant, and formulate policies designed to exploit its resources for frequent interpersonal exchange. In the design of new accommodations, physical plant and administration can be considered as a package. All too often, we fear, creative thinking in both of these areas is sacrified on the altar of efficiency and fiscal and political expediency.

5) THE DRAFT: Selective Service might seem like an incongruous topic to introduce in a discussion of the problems of curriculum reform; yet in two ways it is appropriate. First, it is probably the most urgent question facing students today. Second, it bears directly on almost every other aspect of academic and institutional policy-making. Since much has been written on this topic elsewhere, however, I need mention it only briefly.

For the student who wishes to remain in school, the present system of conscription and deferment imposes several imperatives upon him. He must satisfy his draft board that he is making satisfactory progress toward a degree, which in practice means he must at all times take a full academic load and remain in school without interruption. He cannot risk changing a major late in his academic career. He cannot risk enrolling in too many courses outside of his chosen field, or undertaking too much independent study for which he might not receive formal academic credit. In short, government regulations determine in large measure the course of his education—a situation that is academically abominable from the point of view of both the individual and the institution.

The question of grades and Selective Service deserves special attention. The need to maintain a particular academic average in order to procure a 2-S deferment fundamentally alters the nature of grading and examination. While in the past the grade was a measure of academic progress, the draft has changed it into a measure of individual worth. An immediate consequence of this is that, within a student's scheme of values, receiving a high mark can become more important than mastering the material of a course, thus reducing scholarship to gamesmanship. If allowed to go unchecked, such a system will undoubtedly have adverse consequences on the structuring of courses as well as on what courses are included in the curriculum. The one point on which we were in complete agreement with regard to selective service was that the most urgent change needed in the system was the abolition of grades as criteria of deferment.

The basic problem, however, is that the draft has taken the process of university policy-making out of the hands of the academic communuity and put it in the hands of the government. We find this in direct conflict with our theory of education that views the determination of educational policy as an integral part of the educative process. Furthermore, the functioning of the Selective Service System in its present form is inherently hostile to the concept that educational policy should be tailored to the needs of the individual rather than to the needs of groups. As long as it operates as it does, any substantive attempts to move in this direction are probably doomed to failure.

A PERSONAL SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

At the core of all our rhetoric, I think, is a relatively simple proposition—a call for freedom. American education should be education for freedom; the present system isn't. What we have now is a system for preparing people to live in a highly organized and increasingly regimented society—a bureaucratized society in Weber's sense of the term. Generically the word "education" means to "draw out". The present system doesn't. It tries to put in. That's wrong.

At the bottom of every philosophical system, there is a fundamental conception of the nature of man. Ours, I think, was both old and new—a strange synthesis of John Locke and Albert Camus. On the one hand, there was the belief in the basic rationality and decency of the individual; on the other, there was the belief in his absolute freedom of choice. We tried to envision an educational system that was compatible with both of these conceptions. Whether or not we succeeded is problematic. The key point is that whatever system is finally reached should satisfy this view of man. It might be argued that our view of human nature includes a contradiction. I, at least, would reply that man is by nature a contradiction. That may not be very satisfying, but I think it is an adequate working hypothesis.

In terms of actual academic reform, I think we were more interested in the spirit in which things were done than in specific goals, programs, and structural changes. We would probably admit that the present system would be pretty good as it is, if the people running it were differently motivated—again, oriented toward the individual first, last, and foremost. As stated, individuals are different; they cannot be treated as interchangeable parts with different external markings. The present system does precisely that in much of its policy-making. We would not argue that much of what passes for policy in college today—especially in the areas of academic freedom and paternalism—is unconstitutional. We would argue that it debases the spirit of democracy. If higher education would take a good hard look at itself, we think it might discover it is teaching authoritarianism and acquiescence by example.

Higher education has a hard row to hoe. Many of the sins we have condemned in it are propounded in spades in the secondary school system. As our society becomes increasingly organized, and as programmed living increasingly infringes upon the existence of the child, college more and more becomes the last place where the individual has the opportunity spiritually to become his own man. In a way, the nation has delegated the duty of providing that opportunity to its colleges. They must not fail. If they do, it could well mark the failure of the American experiment.

NOTES

FROM

THE NETWORK

Introductory Note

"The network is that group of people around the country who have engaged in a continental conversation over the state of education for several years. Initially, the conversation included only a few professional educators. Recently, as concern over the university has become public domain, the network itself has grown. The conference participants were culled from the network.

The Danish account of the Champaign Conference was circulated privately to the network prior to publication. Verbal reaction was mixed. The mixture itself, however, clarified the dimensions of the debate.

Hence, the editor encouraged written correspondence on the initial draft. Much of it is critical—highly critical, in fact. There are common themes in the commentary. Yet there are important differences of approach. These were part of the conference. They become the report as well.

EDWARD SCHWARTZ

THOUGHTS ON THE EDUCATION CONFERENCE

National Student Association — September 1966

Steve Sunderland

INTRODUCTION

As you may know, I tend to look at all learning experiences as caricatures of all other learning experiences. That is to say, the patterns of learning that I have known since childhood act like a cadence on all present acts of learning; the major difference between then and now being that I still do not think enough about what makes me learn best. Thinking about the conference a full four days after leaving it is a frustrating task: all thinking for me is a frustrating task—but a happy frustration nonetheless. I think of my feelings about each of the participants and their impact on my learning, the problem of the setting, the amount of time for the conference as well as the amount of time I could spend with each discussion group, the task: writing the report?, written resources that were used and the ones that were not, and, finally, the good-bys: the rituals that never really need to be done but always manage to capture me in my uncomfortable clutches. This is the caricature, the distorted but accurate slice of what learning and life both mean to me and are. The college life is, maybe not so amazingly, my non-college life as well. The major difference being within myself and my ability to be a man amongst college men.

NEXT

What have I learned from the experience that might be applicable to what you are doing? Three issues: Membership; Airtime and gate-keeping; and Feelings as guides to learning and action.

MEMBERSHIP

Life is a membership problem. How we decide who is a citizen, who is a teacher, a student, a cop, a mother and father, a wife, a friend, a pet, a leader, an anything, depends upon how we formally feel life has described those people's roles as well as how I, as an individual member of me-ness, decide to work with myself and life. How much will I help a teacher to be a teacher, that is, how much will I think about the what it is that I do in relation to ihm. How can I feel that I can share in his resources without appearing to be either a parasite or a slave. How can he and I be free? Free to work together at times as well as alone, free to set my goals and to have his counsel (feelings) affect those goals. Free to be dependent and to enrich my freedom by this dependence. Membership in the group depended on how I learned to gain trust based upon the behavior I saw and felt. Having trust in a real sense means feeling people are really people, not representatives of NSA, Harvard, Antioch, The Experimental College, etc. How do I learn to expand my trust to larger groups, to this country, to a body of men called teachers, deans, students, judges, families?

AIR-TIME AND GATE-KEEPING

By these two phrases I mean to call attention to the problems of language: how I talk to you and affect you. How does my language inhibit or support my learning? Language is based upon belief, the belief that men can take time from their action to explain or ask about their action. Within the group I used these two expressions to indicate that I thought the atmosphere to be coercive: stormy without knowing what kind of craft we had and whether it would weather the inclement forces. It was checking for leaks and a broken compass as well as stating just how much of me was below the water-line. "Help" has two meanings; throw me a life-saver—and do you need a life-saver? I think that I confuse these two when they are said by people I distrust or by people who say that asking for help is something only the sick do, or only something we do when we get to land: we may never get to land or the party that gets there will arrive with a man overboard. As with our little group so with the larger learning context. How many degrees are given posthumously? How many times have we refused to answer the cry for help with learning with such statements as: "Fifty percent of our students will not graduate from this under-graduate college," "Engineering education is for non-humans," "Student participation in policy formulation is a stop-gap for alienation," "Teaching is only one part of a faculty member's job here," "The athletes are jocks," "The real problem lies with the administration," "Faculty are only concerned with publishing and teaching grad courses," "Oh, that's just Catholic higher education," "Student-centered learning is at least the first step toward making them humans." How many of us can hear in the language the kind of feelings that are being expressed: where is the curricula for this learning? Responsibility for the language that I use when I think about you as a person and when I talk to you as a person is my permanent task if I am to be an honest person. And this means that I keep telling you what is on my mind and how I'm reading myself and you. CAN OUR EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS PRESENTLY PERMIT THIS KIND OF TELLING?

FEELINGS AS GUIDES TO LEARNING AND ACTION

I feel pretty good about leaving the group when I did, although I wished I could have stayed to Friday. I felt that we didn't leave anyone overboard and that we weren't going to either. This was a pretty human group with lots of feelings on just what each of us as people felt as people. I was not delaying the work of the group by trying to work through my difficulties with Mike; rather that was the educational task of the group which might be worth reporting in the same sense as the Greek poets reported the feelings of their people, when they most felt like people: when they could talk and love as men only after facing man first. We reaffirmed that men can be more than the extension of credits, or prestiges, parochial environments, fictitious competencies and concepts. We could agree that we were men and that was and is our best guide as educationists. How can we look at any block of people, i.e.,

students, and only see the block and not the people? To see people is to also see the effects of your discussion in them and the impact of them in us. This is to see the oneness in humanity. Now the big question is how can we program this for the campus so that the learning can be a substantative act worthy of guidance. How can we learn to show that the ethic of man (Backman's great contribution) is interwoven into the cognitive learning that take place? Programs for the support of feelings in people should be an extensive part of all learning experiences. They need to be more than student centered; they need to be permitted to be done by those people who wish to develop this kind of learning. These people do not need any push; they are just looking at our actions. CAN I LET MY FEELINGS BE A GUIDE TO MY LEARNING AND ACTION?

NEXT

The above three issues as my point to the abolition of the college as we now know it; the place for degree getting and course taking for smaller degrees. More about this can be gleaned from the tape that has my long speech on freedom and trust, responsibility and accountability, and competence and safety. I should only add that we need (the "we" being those who believe the above to be true) architects that support concern for love. These architects will erect those crafts that will always be anchored in the buoyant hope of self and group concern.

Dear Ed:

Having read Paul Danish's report on the Champaign Conference of September, 1966, "Educational Reform—A Student View," I find my reactions profoundly mixed. My inclination is far more simply to reflect about its provocative content than to try to comment on it in some straightforward fashion, and I long for yet another meeting where concerned people could work their way through the thicket of ideas that obviously grew in profusion in Illinois. Perhaps this state of affairs is as it should be: The current problems of higher education are both so urgent and so complex as to give any wise man pause, and one should be more than a bit wary of instant solutions, whether they derive from old traditions or novel enthusiasms.

Let me begin by indicating some of the large variety of thoughts and values in Mr. Danish's document that command my admiration as well as my agreement. The temptation to discuss these matters at length, in the hope that the discussion might help their implementation, is strong. In the interest of the perhaps more important job of musing on issues that entail less consensus, however, I'll try to resist this urge.

At the core of the report is the emphasis on a sound education as consisting far more in the process of learning how to learn rather than in the mastery of unintegrated subject matters or disciplines. My applause is prolonged because this contention implies that a "student" (a person concerned with learning, regardless of his age) must also develop criteria for judging what is *significant* among the learning options available and, on the basis of those criteria, make decisions on the basis of reasonably articulate and defensible values. As one who joins in the conviction that the wedding of humane values to the development of intellectual skills is the *sine qua non* of a successful education, I can only cheer. When the energies of learning are focused on genuine problems of human moment, then students are most able to ransack the fundamental fields of knowledge in fruitful ways.

Similarly, I am delighted by the recognition in this report of the already extensive and rapidly growing diversity of American student bodies and by the vision of the educative potentialities in the enlarged human array now on our campuses. Students have always learned from each other, and this kind of learning requires differences in experience, background, and outlook to be optimally stimulating. In such a context of differences, it should be easier to transform higher education from essentially the transmission of a viable cultural heritage (which once was an appropriate function) to essentially the disciplined and vigorous quest for informed values and understandings, some of which may well be winnowed from the past, which are relevant to the modern world. On the other hand, this kind of diversity of under-graduates can well give rise to the "lonely crowd" pattern of college life against which the report properly warns in its consideration of how facilities for housing, dining, and informally meeting are central for the educational enterprise. Neglect

on the part of the professionals of the total educational environment, and a concomitant concentration on the formal features of the classroom and the curriculum, have been twinned sins in the conduct of "the higher learning" in the United States; it's good to have them named and to have some suggestions for their redress.

If it is vital to increase the permeability of the invisible but tough membrane that typically stretches between such "educational" entities as the classroom and such "ancillary" elements as the dormitory, it is equally vital to reduce the present barriers between campus and community, between curricular and extracurricular experience, and between attention to the developing intellect and attention to the developing person, including his values, emotions, and interpersonal entanglements. If the product (and highly individualized artists as well as impersonal industrial firms produce "products") of higher education is a human being equipped to behave thoughtfully and with integrity in a society whirling with change, then these old dividing lines must be intelligently erased. At the same time, because pluralism and individuality are values, that product must be recognized as one that can assume many very different contours; college graduates must be expected to—and positively helped—to differ from one another in a variety of ways. Here is a major basis (although not the only one) for worrying, as Mr. Danish and his colleagues helpfully do, about the rising concern with "efficiency" along the lines of an industrial model. Efficiency is not the same thing as either effectiveness, which is paramount, or public accountability, which is certainly legtimate. For reasons of this sort, I am pleased by the relevant passages in "Educational Reform—A Student View," just as I was pleased by Raymond Callahan's slightly strident but extremely useful little book, *The Cult of Efficiency*, which I commend to you.

Because I honor effectiveness far beyond efficiency, I also am happily excited by the attack in this documuent on grades, credits, and fixed terms, all parts of a system that was frozen around the turn of the century when our institutions were very different in their mission and character from what they are now; and I also am thoroughly sympathetic to the criticism of the lecture. An exquisite art, capable of evoking commitments and enthusiasms and of developing genuinely novel ideas, the lecture is rarely practiced as such. Instead, it modally carries its medieval trappings with it to the classroom, purveying information after the manner of Abelard despite the fact that books and many other sources of sheer intellectual input are now so abundant and inexpensive that we are threatened with a kind of informational indigestion. It has been a long time since anybody looked seriously at the relationship of college *teaching* (which is what the lecture purports to be) to learning (which is what the college is supposed to be all about). And that is a pity it is well to underscore.

Finally, I agree wholeheartedly with the conclusion: (The) "college

more and more becomes the last place where the individual has the opportunity spiritually to become his own man. In a way, the nation has delegated the duty of providing that opportunity to its colleges. They must not fail. If they do, it could well mark the failure of the American experiment." Beyond agreement, I am grateful not only for so rich a sentiment, but for the way in which it is expressed—a way that links a vision of the future to a valid tradition (the American experiment), that hooks the value of individuality to a shared morality of duty, and that expresses a concern for the national community as well as for a particular segment of it like its youth. My appreciation is deep for words that are warming.

But now I must try, against this background of shared goals and shared concerns, to express an uneasiness and some critical reactions that I sincerely believe are reflective of something more than the hardening state of my arteries. It helps to know that the right of dissent is seriously regarded by you, Mr. Danish, and your confreres, just as it helps to know all of you are deeply and constructively preoccupied with the problem of how to make our colleges and universities more humane, more effective in their facilitating the development of persons, and more impactful as sources of decent social change. Joining you in this preoccupation, I hope our interchange will prove productive. I'll try to be brief, hoping that there will be others and still more propitious occasions for our exploring issues of great importance for all of us.

First off, I'm a little troubled by some of the contradictions and what I can only call blind spots in the report. The disarming dismissal of inconsistencies on the ground that "man is by nature a contradiction" doesn't quite wash. After all, it is only a *foolish* inconsistency that is the hobgoblin of little minds; some are not at all foolish and merit serious attention. Let's look at one that strikes me as quite serious. Having said good words for diversity, the report contends that "People who have accepted a commitment to seek to learn, *and no others* (italics added), should be called students." At other points in the account, similar limitations are imposed. How can this position be reconciled with the value placed on diversity? Is there a somewhat ominous movement here in the direction of ruling out of the university those who want to acquire the professional skills of an engineer, those who want to master a conventional academic discipline like economics or chemistry, or those who are interested in the learnings that increase their social mobility? Not only the value of diversity strikes me as at hazard here; the understanding of democracy itself seems shaky. You and Mr. Danish know better than most that the modal student activist, deeply concerned with educational reform, represents a very small minority of the total student population. I can't believe that you are really interested in overthrowing one Establishment only, willy-nilly, to empower another—to dethrone the Romanovs only to exalt the Bolsheviks. Yet the respect for differences, the concern for the genuine nurturance of diversity (which is only the other side

of the same medallion on which individuality is embossed), seems temporized to a troubling degree.

If this kind of temporizing is in evidence in relation to the definition of "student" and that definition's implications for the character of an educational program and the quality of campus life, it also shows up in discussions of faculty and administrative roles and of faculty-student relationships. Both intellectual understanding and human compassion are at a little less than their zenith in these passages. There is no point, for example, in excoriating professors for claiming that "teaching is only one part of a faculty member's job here." It is! By disposition, by training, and by the pressures of a powerful and comprehensive reward system, members of the professoriate are drawn to their jobs through an interest in and degree of talent for scholarship, and they develop strong concepts of themselves as representatives of academic disciplines. Although I join in finding this state of affairs deplorable in its contemporary consequences, I find intemperate attacks on college instructors, who rarely invest much imagination or boldness in the instructional side of their responsibilities, a little like a racist's characterization of Negroes as "shiftless" or "violent." At best, such onslaughts are fruitless wastes of energy, and—far more important—they divert us from developing an informed understanding of the conditions that produce the unhappy symptoms. Without that kind of comprehension, we're likely to come much too obliquely at the institutionalized roots of the problem—the equation of scholarly competence with the ability to help others toward self-development, the character of the graduate schools, the changing function of the university and its official personnel *vis-a-vis* the larger society, etc.

As for administrators, my impressions differ markedly from those engendered by Mr. Danish's document. More often than not, presidents, provosts, and deans seem much more keenly interested in educational quality and relevance and in the renovation of the collegial system than the typical faculty member or, indeed, than the great majority of students. Because the rules of the game usually put curricular and instructional power in faculty hands, however, and because students seldom make the alliances that would add strength to their very proper causes, administrative leaders experience their wry and bitter moments of powerlessness, neutralized by two of their basic constituencies. At the same time, they (especially presidents) have other realities to contend with—legislatures, governing boards, townspeople, the press, an institutional vision that always outruns finances, etc. Any man in a position of leadership is a fair target for people who believe themselves hurt or put in jeopardy by his policies; if he isn't willing to be shot at, he has only the most dubious right to his place on the hill. But the difference between those bowmen who are really animated by humane dreams and a sense of justice and those who are primarily looking for a scapegoat on whom to project a relatively thoughtless discontent is reasonably clear: The former

bother to understand their opponent and to satisfy themselves as to the necessity for warfare before taking aim at his Adam's apple, whereas the latter find a frighteningly primitive kind of joy in simply firing arrows at people whom they perceive as in power. The distinction is worth making and bearing firmly in mind if one really means it when one claims humane values as a plank on one's platform. Likewise, it is worth attending to the long-range consequences of the strategies one chooses to employ. An unhappily strong case can be made, for example, that activists at Berkeley were the most effective campaigners in Ronald Reagan's entourage.

Although the themes of my concern so far merit, I believe, extensive exploration and clarification, let me turn to another object of worry. It has to do with the self-image of the student himself and the role assigned to him as they seem to be characterized in "Educational Reform." For instance, "Good ideas . . . might as well come from an obnoxious freshman as from a tenured professor or a college president." True! And I'm eager to see that steps are taken to insure that this quite possible but rather improbable event won't go unnoticed when it occurs. It doesn't strike me as quite the way a senisible man would place his bets, however, and I have a troubled sense that our document suggests two worrisome implications. One is that "good ideas" aren't likely from a college's official personnel (that "over thirty" bugaboo again?); the other is that "good ideas" are those that either agree with a student's current beliefs or make articulate for him convictions he has previously been unable to put into language. Aware that I'm overstating the case, I'm also aware that the overstatement isn't all that large. If nothing else, the rhetoric of the student case—a case in which I'm an elderly but reasonably energetic participant—could stand some scrutiny in the light of its probable effectiveness.

Or take the recommendation that "the goal of higher education . . . should be to make its pursuers uncomfortable with their intellectual environment." Good! I'm for it. But I could be more enthusiastically for it if something were also said about making students (*and* faculty *and* administrators) uncomfortable with their own intellectual shallowness, with their own frequent confusion of convictions with ideas, and the imperfect understanding that victimizes all of us of that endless *quest*, that state of always being in basic ignorance of the things that matter most, that lies at the root of a humane cultivation of the mind. The fault, dear modern Brutus, is not always in our institutions but in ourselves that we are uneducated!

Or consider the question of whether our colleges can "presently permit" one's being honest. Wrapped in the flag and standing in the church of honesty, one is about as invulnerable as one can get, so I take up this cudgel with trepidation. But are there occasions when "honesty" becomes a rationalization for hostility—when "telling it like it is" degenerates into naming a spade a goddam dirty shovel? And is there not a kernel of truth in the

notion that the honest man is one who can admit to this thoroughly human tendency—and that the genuinely honest man is one who, having recognized it in himself, makes an honest effort to control it? Such questions bring up the matter of style, which, like ideas, has consequences. Because style, including the style of absolute honesty, has consequences, one can ask about the degree to which it reflects the informed and humane values that swing like a sweet counterpoint under the items which distress me in this report. It is the disturbance in the internal harmonies here that leaves me a little at a loss to separate the most meaningful contentions from the least, the points at which reform is "honestly" sought from those at which a thoughtless opposition is being expressed.

Finally, there is that memorable and moving passage in which the participants in the conference voice their belief in the rationality and decency of individual men and in their absolute freedom of choice. As one who shares that faith, I must raise—for myself as well as for anyone else who is willing to listen—the problem of its entailments. It seems to me that it requires those who hold it to search—to embark on a quest, if you will—for "rationality and decency" in *all* men, not simply one's closest associates. Irrationality and abrogations of decency are part of the tragic human condition, and those who look clear-eyed at the world find, God knows, more than enough of them. But our faith defines them as pathological and as deviations from what is expected in the human animal. The expectancy and the proper search on the part of the faculty members and administrators is for what is rational and decent in students; their mission is to help, as fully and creatively as they can, those students to develop as extensively as possible their reasonable and decent propensities. Conversely, students who profess this pattern of beliefs owe professors and administrators the expectation of a similar rationality and decency. Disappointments will be numerous on both sides, but the faith expressed defines the spirit in which this adventure in relationships can be humanely conducted.

With respect to freedom of choice, one central point needs to be noted. Such freedom leaves ample room for the making of mistakes—mistakes that can be innocent, malignant, or tragic, developmental in their outcomes or sharply inhibitory of growth. Like ideas and like style, choices have consequences; to that extent, they are not "free" but must be paid for. The price is partially determined by the extent to which the members of a complex community, priding themselves on their differences, still strive to understand each other in compassionate ways across those differences. Although there will always be times when varmints can be identified and must be whumped, that conception of a good community—the kind of community that a college or university ought to be—still impresses me as a viable one. And as a part of my own variant on our common faith, I look to students to play a central and a major role in setting its tone, just as I look to students as

one of the most generative sources of novel and useful ideas in higher education today.

There is more—a great deal more—in this report about which I should like to think with you. This letter, however, is already overlong. One of the things we need is more opportunities for people to come together as the participants in the Champaign conference did, and when those opportunities can be sustained over time and involve students, faculty, and administrative officers in a proper mix, then we will be on the road (a road not without its hazards) toward building that *community* in higher education that really helps distinctive individuals to develop in distinctive ways. Any progress along such a highway would demonstrate, in however small degree, the validity of that faith in an educational trinity at once both old and new—a faith in human reason, human decency, and human freedom.

Thanks to you for this opportunity and to Mr. Danish for his report—
As always, my most genuine and warm regards—

Sincerely,
EDWARD JOSEPH SHOBEN, JR.
Director

Dear Ed,

The Champaign Report saddens me. Time after time, the words and idea ring true, but, as a whole, it is very frustrating. If not understood properly, I feel it may do a disservice to the student leaders involved and to the entire movement afoot for educational reform.

The major problem of the report is not in what is said but rather in *how* it is said. The style is analytical, rhetorical and argumentative. The style, in short, exhibited all the best strengths and worst faults of the lecture system, the very teaching-learning model the report heartily condemns.

More specificly, the analysis is that of a student civil libertarian when he feels he is backed up against the wall,

> While there are few denominators come to all students—including, at this point, discontent—these are less relevant to human development than the characteristics which differentiate one student from another. Any prepackaged program for higher education must, of necessity ignore these differences. Yet this is the kind of program which we have been asked to produce.

The argument of that of a student activists who is biting the bit for a campus demonstration because the channels of communication are closed,

> The purpose of college may be "education" but its function in society is the "production" of graduates. In order to fulfill this function, institutions of higher learning have developed over the years certain techni-

> ques for processing thousands of valuable young minds that each year storm the campus bearing unsullied notebooks and hard tuition. It is our contention that this methodology is becoming, in large measure, ossified.

The rhetoric is that of an idealistic young student who feels he is being had,

> We felt that there is no reason why the academic calendar has to be outlined as arbitrarily as it usually is . . .
>
> We felt that university requirements are beginning to get out of hand on many campuses . . .
>
> Perhaps we live in the midst of an information explosion, but the basic techniques of teaching and learning have remained unchanged in centuries . . .

In short, the report is one step removed from a call for a massive student rebellion.

This saddens me for two reasons. First, I think that this is exactly what might happen. And, I must admit, I would be among the first to be counted in the lines of the active rebels if the lines of confrontation were firmly drawn and, to my mind, inevitable. If students are backed to the wall, they must stand firm. If student academic freedom is consistently violated, they must demonstrate. If there are no opportunities for a students ideals to develop, he must not allow himself to be had. But it saddens me that such a confrontation seems imminent in America. It may be difficult, but a bureaucratic society must develop institutions which do not back the individual against the wall. It may take courage, but an affluent society must develop standards of freedom which permit individuals to take advantage of its abundance. It may take a total re-thinking of the problems, but a mass society must find ways of helping individuals deal with their sense of powerlessness. I must admit that the Champaign Report does not excite *me* to these challenges.

Second, and most important, I feel that students *are* beginning to find constructive answers to these difficult problems. The student movements, especially in civil rights, have found ways of facilitating diversity—and not all by non-violent demonstrations. The student movements, especially in poverty, have found new roles in which individuals can find satisfaction beyond material wealth. The student movements, especially in education, have found ways in which students can take responsibility for their own education and not feel powerless. What saddens me is that the Champaign Report gives no feeling for the important student discoveries in developing modes of participatoroes democracy, in developing new models for teaching in the ghetto, in developing new models for learning in the experimental colleges. The challenge would be to report why students feel these are better than than traditional models, possibly even to attempt to translate their adoption by existing institutions. The Champaign Report does students a disservice

by issuing a polemic without a sense of the more difficult and more important alternatives.

What is needed rather than the analysis of the systems is the building of a new educational metaphor.

What is needed rather than the arguments of dissatisfaction is a description of what learning students feel is meaningful and relevant.

What is needed rather than the rhetoric of rebellion is the building of new models for teaching and learning which do justice to the human condition.

PHILIP R. WERDELL
Editor, Moderator Magazine

Dear Ed,

I have now had a chance to look over the text of *Educational Reform—A Student View*. I'm afraid I have to be pretty tough about it, after going through it twice.

My first comment is on your sentence on page 2 of your foreword: 'to the educational community and the public, the Champaign Report will appear radical, elusive, even Utopian.' I think the report may appear to be elusive, but it depends to which part of the educational community and the public it is addressed whether or not it will seem to be Utopian or radical. It doesn't seem to me to be either. I am also against telling the reader what attitude he will take to materials he is about to read.

My second comment is that Paul, in his introductory remarks on page 1 and 2, indicates that the people in the Conference started by fighting the question rather than answering it; if the question is asked 'What should be done to reform American higher education?' this does not necessarily imply that anyone is asking for a pre-packaged program. The question is, What should be done to reform American higher education? I don't see anything pre-packaged in the question, and it seems simply to be a contentious beginning without much relevance to what comes after.

Nor do I find the first pages of Purposes and Objectives of Higher Education, beginning on page 2 and going to page 6, very helpful, since most of what is said there is already agreed upon by most serious people who are thinking about university education. Something got started on page 6 by *you*, I mean, Paul and everybody when *you* say 'the goal of higher education should be (a) to free people by (b) teaching them how to learn,' although I don't see why you put in the (a) and (b). The quotation which follows seems pretty sensible, although it is hard to tell whether Paul has simply summarized what everyone said or whether this is one person talking. In passing, I might say that I am not sure that the goal of higher education should be to make its pursuers uncomfortable with their intellectual environ-

ment. The question is how to make an environment. Suppose they have already created a good environment, then the question of being comfortable or uncomfortable in it is not the basic one. The basic one is whether it is stimulating, productive, congenial, possessing a certain amount of excitement, etc.

I did a memorandum last year for Jim Johnson for transmission to your Conference planners (a copy is enclosed) and said at one point, 'I would not spend too much time in condemnation or theoretical discourse, but concentrate on the practical reforms you believe to be desirable and necessary, and write as much as possible about programs by and for students which can actually make reforms while the students who are to be affected are still at college.' Although I am not suggesting any particular merit in my memo, that is what I still think and what the report doesn't do. Beginning on page 10, the description of the system has a nagging quality about it, rather than being a simple description of how things are done, followed by what are the reforms you would all like to see happen.

Page 14 and 15 get to it on a better track, although again I do not find much here which most students do not already know, and there is little by way of recommendations of a practical kind which could shift the center of gravity into the students' hands and away from the administration and faculty. To say (page 19) 'Eliminate paternalism from the university' and then to go on just discussing paternalism doesn't seem to me to be very helpful. It is like when Paul Goodman says, Close down CBS.

The section on the draft (page 24) repeats what is generally known, and adds very little by way of recommendation and suggestion.

I appreciate Paul's call for freedom in his personal summary and conclusion, but when he says that he thinks the conference was more interested in the spirit in which changes are done than in specific goals, programs and structural changes, I say fine, but what happens now? There are certain things which one can do to change the spirit of an institution, and I think you people know what some of them are. But I don't find that in your document.

I know exactly how hard it is to produce a convincing, interesting and compelling document which can act as a manifesto for the reform of anything, including education, especially when eleven people with all their individual varieties of approach are trying to make one statement.

But I don't think you have a document here which will do what you hoped it might. If it were my responsibility, I would not publish it but go back to the materials collected at the Conference and see what else could be done with them. But I am not sure how helpful this is to you at this point, since you may already have taken the steps to put the document into circulation.

As ever,
HAROLD TAYLOR

Dear Ed,

I received the final version of the Champaign Report. Since my earlier reactions to the report have concentrated on raising points that would assist you in the editing process, I have decided to send my more general reactions and criticisms of the report now.

Through the editing process the report has passed the threshold of coherence. There isn't too much question about what the group has decided to say about American higher education. Yet it is disappointing. When the conference was originally conceived there was a faint hope that the process of bringing together some of the best student educational thinkers and activists would produce a document which really could ignite into major fires the few sparks of activity in educational reform. Somehow the unstated supposition that students didn't really perceive the seriousness of the inadequacies in higher education was in the back of people's minds. And further that if the perceptions possessed by the Schwartz's and Vozick's of this student generation could find their way to print the problems were on the way to solution.

What are the shortcomings then of this coherent statement of the ills of academia? The most important is the lack of concern with the transition of the concern about these ills, many of which could be recited by any self-respecting sophomore with some student government training, to restructuring the academic experience. The report seems to do a dis-service to this problem not only by not treating it with any depth, but further with a mis-representation of much of the current educational picture. The distortion of the picture comes in many ways. First, the participants in the conference represent a very high level of motivation and success within the current academic scene. It is no exaggeration when you say in the introduction that "we had fought hard for a sense of ourselves. We had switched majors, traveled abroad, led protests, written columns, formed educational experiments, and tried to put the pieces together." There is implicit assumption in the report that most students have some where near this degree of motivation. There is a great deal of discussion about freeing the individual from the constraints of the academic experience. Should this happen I think one could expect in many instances the Erich Fromm response noted in the new community college in East St. Louis. Or if the response did not manifest itself in such an institutional manner, a withdrawal of a nearly complete nature from the academic environment by many of the students. A second major distortion of the academic scene is the assumption that student life or related activities is a full-time process for most college students. The figures now show that approximately 60% of the college students in this country commute. That's right, they live with their families just like high school. I would assert that over 50% of the college students work at a regular part-time job. I know the figure was about 70% at Minnesota . Your implicit assumptions on these two

counts give a very serious distortion of the involvement of the student in the process you describe. Thirdly, many students are not interesetd in learning information not directly related to advancing their employability. There is a long first step to be taken before the student can approach this problem which all of the conference participants perceived concerning the need for an individual approach.

Moving from these notation of the distortions that I felt existed in the report to the point of developing the constituency for educational reform or revolution is really the difficult journey. Perhaps the conference avoided the question due to the enormity of the issue and the variation of the forces opposing academic reform at the wide variety of campuses included under the umbrella of American higher education. The road of getting students on more faculty committees seems now to be very obviously a sterile issue. I know of very few universities where faculty committees in any sense of the importance of the wide variety of topics mentioned in the report. The incentives are not in the area of revising a curriculum or re-structuring a total university experience for either faculty or administration.

I think what the conference could well have developed is an analysis of the factors within the university opposing reform. There undoubtedly would have been many. However, after students have these factors in mind the process of devising a strategy which illicites a minimum negative response from the various power elements becomes much easier. The people with the power have to understand the language to be in their interest.

For tactical reasons you may not have wished to make the report seem pessimistic. The data, however, makes no other conclusion possible within the context of my thinking. The universities that are expanding the fastest and are already training the largest portion of the American students are no where near the point where the criticisms mentioned in the report can be meaningful. I think that unless economic incentives can be worked out through government or private foundations, the only hope for academic reform at the bulk of American campuses is a whole series of Berkeley's. Students must grind the machines to halt and force the community to face the issues. I went to great lengths earlier to say that students are not motivated and are not likely to be so dis-satisfied that they are willing to call a halt. They may, however, represent the best hope.

JIM JOHNSON

THE HIRED EDUCATION IN AMERICA

by Mike Vozick

From the opening moments, we worked together in Champaign as a learning conference: a dozen serious students sharing the questions we had about higher education—keeping somewhat in mind the need for a document which showed what we felt about the educational institutions which had claimed so much of our lives. There was a lot of talk about our experiences (and we weren't overly happy about them) in a conscious attempt to generate an environment that would allow us to pose together the hardest questions we knew about places and ways of learning.

We held that our meeting ought to be a step on the road toward creating a more useful and humane educative process for people; and ought not to produce a solution to any more narrowly formulated problem. None of us wanted to ask the Leaders of American Higher Education to do thus and so; instead we wanted to find out more about what has to be done, maybe by us or by you, in order to make the university into a house of questions about everything in the human experience, including itself.

We weren't all that good, and there wasn't enough time, but we did give it a try. There were lovely moments, when came an "aha"; and funny times when even the knots we had tied ourselves into had knots; and some pain, when more love and openness was needed than anyone could find. In retrospect, the attempt seems as absurd and as valuable as any try at new learning ever is. Perhaps our encounter can best be understood as a momentary groping toward a new discipline of learning and community.

But there's the rub. There was a direction visible to me that week, and Paul didn't see it, or couldn't write it. This is not surprising. My work with students at San Francisco State College at the start of the Experimental College there has taught me that we are creating out of a new oral tradition, and that few of us can unpack what's in us into a nice written essay. There is too much feeling, too much awareness that we are treading on totally new territory. The public statement we want to make is too intimate, and we balk, or write poetry. I have to say that the journalist in Paul balked, and probably at that intimacy.

But what else is learning, if it is not intimate? And who else has the experience of being a student, but students? And isn't it time that we started making a revolution in education? The Great Society is not going to save our souls, and there is only small solace in protestation.

So what did we do? We tried to listen to each other, and to understand what was important to each of us, and to make some formulations that might guide us till better ones could be found. We tried to break through the conventional politeness of conferences to say what we really wanted. It was a

kind of research, a kind of direct action on or own learning processes, a kind of encounter group. It was very much the kind of discussion that helps to generate a tutorial program, an experimental college, a course and teacher evaluation publication, or whatever it is that students somewhere in America are inventing today to make their lives a little less dissociated from the beautiful and the hopeful and the brotherly.

Someday soon there may be a manifesto. And a new theoretician to say for us what we are trying to say. Until then, we will have to experiment on the basis on partial and incomplete theories, and seek to learn from our own experiments. In a little way, this conference was such an experiment. What did it generate?

First off, we came up with some questions that we felt indicated areas where contemporary universities had left us dissatisfied. Here are a few of them: the answers are less important than the questions.

What constitutes a student? Should studenthood end with the achievement of a degree? If a person is consciously trying to learn, can he rightly be called a non-student?

What power should a student have at an institution of higher education? How much and what kind of power?

What is it that a faculty member does that he ought to be paid for? What parts of his work can be replaced by electronic media? In what sense should he be a student?

How should punishment and reward be used in the learning process?

What should be the nature of the dialogue between the university and its society?

How can the binding of time in its relation to various learning roles (presently freshman, sophomore, grad student . . . instructor . . . professor, and course hour, semester, etc.) be made to serve the interests of learning?

What is it that needs to be learned? Are the disciplines adequate vehicles for the kinds of knowledge that men need to survive, let alone be free?

What kinds of questions ought a freshman be encouraged to ask?

Are fundamentally competitive environments (e.g., grading, ranking) more conducive to the kind of learning that is needed for the liberation of human potential than fundamentally supportive environments?

How can processes of self-criticism, re-examination, and institu-

tional change be built into our universities in order that they might better serve their function of creating opportunities for learning?

Secondly, we came up with a list of sixty different areas in which students could start discussion, action, and new programs to transform the university toward a place which frees men to learn to live together. Many are already underway somewhere. Maybe you can do one, or take a student to lunch and convince him or her to start.

1. Admissions. Are the right people coming to your college? The poor? The black? The other kind of people?

2. Advising. Are students helping each other as much as they might to use the university in their own interest?

3. Orientation. Are new students finding out at the beginning how it really is?

4. Departments. Do students have any voice? Do you get admitted to a discipline or indoctrinated into it?

5. Social Action. Is it being studied as sympathetically as government?

6. Buildings. Who plans them? Who has to learn in them?

7. Community Government. Who decides? What are students allowed to decide about the governance of their place of learning?

8. Students Workers. At $1.25 an hour? Ever hear of unions?

9. Supplementary Courses. How about the things you want to learn about in your field of interest for which there seems to be no course?

10. Cultural Affairs. Does your campus help to build the aesthetic sensibility that you dig most?

11. Institutional Research. Who does it? What questions do they ask about your college? What answers do they give?

12. Community Research. Is knowledge at your university being applied for or against the people in your city or state? Particularly the underprivileged people.

13. Media. How does your institution work to improve them in your part of America?

14. Public Relations. What image is your college projecting? It's an image, in part, of you — is it honest?

15. Student Press. Does it reach the community which depends on the university? Does it deal with a learning community or with rah-rah?

16. Catalog. Who writes it? Is it in clear English or jargon? Does it describe the students' role and fate honestly?

17. Personnel and hiring. Are students consulted? Who decides?

18. Classes. Can the students ever decide how they ought to learn together? Are students encouraged to teach each other?

19. Administrators. Do they teach courses? On how the college works? Do they tell the truth?

20. Satellite seminars — to big lecture courses. Are they critical of the instructor's bias? Do they give students a chance to discover how they feel about the problems of learning the material?

21. Parallel structures. Are there any student-run educational programs that offer alternatives to the ordinary modes?

22. Independent study for freshmen. Do they have a chance to explore the problem of deciding what they want to study?

23. Socially enfranchising living situations. Like student-run dorms, co-ops, learning-living situations, etc. Can students start such things? Do they?

24. Rent strikes in the dorms. Look, if there are rats. . . .

25. Cooperative housing in the community. The college is part of the world. The college is part of the world. Why live in seclusion, unless you are preparing for a life of privilege?

26. Fraternity revolution. Is it possible to imagine creating non-exclusionary brotherhood in a fraternity in the 1960's?

27. The world — you've got to live there. Why not do some of your learning there? Students can initiate small work/study programs from which longer sojourns out where life is being lived can come to be legitimized.

28. Semesters, quarters and all that. Whose convenience is served? Who is an educational institution for, anyhow?

29. Weekends — retreats, advances, experiments. Get the president of the college surrounded. Tell him how it is. Or train a cadre of hard-core undesirables to push a little. Or learn about your ability to meet and love others.

30. Negative fees for students. That's right, a sliding scale of tuition by family income, allowing support for people who need money to have a change at college. Not "scholarships"!

31. Problem-oriented learning. Dealing with real questions, felt needs, instead of disciplinary boxes. Particularly relevant to questions involving the uses of power.

32. Administration. Why don't students get a crack at running the place? At least as interns — to help or to learn. . . .

33. Student governments. As irrelevant and ugly a set of organizational forms as men have ever generated in the name of "freedom." Why aren't there student unions? Direct democracies? Parallel administrations of the university? Your couldn't do worse than most imitation-USA student governments if you *planned* a caricature of representative organization.

34. The Draft. The rape of higher education; tearing at the guts of educational evaluation so every "grade" becomes (or ought to become) a question of victim or executioner for faculty and student alike. Why don't educators refuse to participate in selecting who shall be called to kill and who shall be deferred?

35. Athletics. Is it possible that institutions of higher learning might be ready to grow beyond circuses? To study them, fine — but to generate them?

36. Privacy. Are student intruded upon? Can it be halted?

37. Grades, Degrees, Credits. To be relics of the past?

38. Examinations. Why don't we train for self-evaluation instead? Do we need multiple choice rituals? What do they have to do with learning?

39. Rules for Student Conduct. Almost invariably hypocritical and contradictory in our experience. What does a two-faced system of authority teach?

40. Why isn't there a council of higher education on any campus, or in any city or state to which students, faculty, and administrators come for conversation about how to improve the quality of our learning together?

41. Why do we trust the experience of "teaching" so much more than learning? Teaching doesn't ever happen unless learning is taking place, whatever the reputation or experience of the teacher. Why don't teachers simply talk to their students?

42. Why don't students sit on decision-making bodies of their universities, or work as staff, for academic credit? Is there nothing to be learned there?

43. Why aren't students being educated to learn the colleges and universities of the next generation instead of being trained to carry their disciplines and professions forward?

44. Why don't teachers teach each other how to learn about teaching? Why don't they try to learn together about the problems of their common enterprise, the university? Can students show them how?

45. Faculty are all too often stifled worse than students. Why are they so jealous of those prerogatives they do have? Why not share the wealth of authority?

46. Democracy. Present in name more than in substance at most universities. How can administrators be trained to do as they preach to students?

47. Self-starting students. Why aren't they recognized as an educational resource and paid to help in teaching and starting new programs?

48. Intern programs. These could be built in everywhere, giving students an opportunity to test their learning in real situations and grow in interplay with the real university decision-making. Why not give students the right to challenge some of the assumptions they encounter?

49. Summer Sessions. Why aren't they used to give students a chance to experiment with different styles of learning? The opportunities are always there for this one.

50. Lobbying. Maybe even on educational issues. Why aren't students trained in this necessary art? There is a state capitol near you!

51. Cooptation — The Great Bugaboo. Nearly every student wants to please Daddy. Particularly when his future depends upon it. How could we go about re-introducing some old-fashioned self-reliance?

52. How about faculty and students setting out to learn something none of them knows about, to share the problems of how you come to learn something?

53. Why can't students be people? Classrooms often have all the intimacy and significance of municipal busses. A group of people going someplace, apart, in the same conveyance — most of them not even heading where they want to go. Why don't people meet each other while learning?

54. People training for the professions: They need some why and wherefore experiences to add to the whats and hows. What is the

social responsibility of a doctor? Should doctors learn about socialized medicine in England? How are we going to build some sanity into the doing of the professionals unless professional training includes inquiry into the purpose of the profession? And that doesn't mean indoctrination into today's mores.

55. General Education. Almost always a general atrocity, with departments slavering over each other (in a quiet academic way) for the spoils. The purpose of general education ought to be to inform students about what there is to learn in the various disciplines. This is best done by answering all their questions, not by super high school "surveys." Why don't students run GE courses with faculty as advisors and consultants?

56. The Freshman Year. Maybe it should be almost totally unstructured, built around small group discussions of what the students care about, and what and how to learn.

57. Primary Groups or Reference Groups. Should a student have the option of belonging to an encounter group for students, to help him check out and keep current about his own feelings while he is being educated?

58. The News. Seldom used as a teaching tool, yet very well suited to that purpose. Why is higher education so afraid of being relevant?

59. Course and Teacher Evaluation. Most programs today are fairly primitive. Why not give students credit for learning how to evaluate teaching?

60. Tutorial Programs with Ghetto Children. Still not integrated into the mainstream of education departments, although they are goldmines of relevant experience in every human discipline.

So there are sixty teasers; it is frightening that they don't even cover the field adequately. Of course, any one of them won't work in many situations; but then institutional change is participatory theatre — so write your own skit. Be a student if you want, and learn — it is an honorable occupation. Do what makes sense to you; change comes mainly by example, however much lip service we pay to our tongues.

What it all comes down to is that we said you ought to try. The cooptation of students in this society, however unintentional it may be, is an abomination. Our fear of the potential for totalitarianism within ourselves becomes the basis for a more subtle kind of totalitarianism. Dissent becomes encapsulated as scholars prepare for a life of privilege. It is an abomination.

Do your best. Watch always that you are not destroying your own purposes by failing to reflect on your actions. The problems of timing,

of creating behavior in relevant sequence, of self-discipline, of power, will never disappear. Beware of cooptation: the setting of a context for one man's life by another. Set your contexts together with the others with whom you interact. Don't get caught exhorting like this, unless you are being heard fairly. No one has ever taught anyone who hasn't learned — teaching and learning are simply different descriptions of the same interation.

We are moving, in my opinion, toward a new university. It is about time. Students will have to initiate it and run it. It's not going to be planned neatly in advance; it is going to be everywyhere where men want to learn, and it is going to deeply alter the conceptions we have around the term "American Higher Education." As Confucius said, "Good government is the correction of terms." The learning factory, programmed learning, and technological education will have to be replaced by situations that allow each person to come to live and think and love and be a free man (or woman, which is different, but just as much, if not more, its own thing). Technical education will have to become something free men choose to accept. No, I don't have it backwards — machines *can* do everything but be men, and we will get out from under them, or be killed by them.

Only students will have the wonder to do the thinking that needs to be done. Only students are going to be able to build their lives around the necessary conversations about goals. For them, tasks will come to fit within conversations, and not the other way around. Hallelujah! The university is going to become a conversation again. It will have a real politics, be an arena for the most important kinds of conflict. The modern industrial democratic scholasticism may yield again to the scholarship of power, of poetry, of personality. If it doesn't make sense to you, be patient. A theory is coming which will say it better than I can.

Are you working toward that theory? Yes, I mean you. . . .

The problem is making the profession of teaching back into an art — an art that has as its direct medium, people. Think on that.

I want to be humble, to be contrite. I have used "we" a lot — it is always that we that I, me, felt a part of. I know I have bias, but the conference helped me to learn how to act and learn and act better. Maybe only because some people tried to listen to each other. See, it was very intimate.

The problem of quality remains. How can we have the best quality thought if everyone is free to learn exactly what he wants, to do exactly what he wants to do? How can we show ourselves and others that freedom and quality are reinforcing purposes, not antagonistic ones? My assertion is that intellectual excellence has always come from deep personal honesty and openness. I, for example, feel frustrated here in that I have barely

managed to point out a direction; and have done very little of the intellectual work which is so desperately needed. I would be and feel freer if I could think more clearly and profoundly. But I have learned painfully that I can learn how to think only in ways I learn how to trust myself and others — and I meet so few scholars who even care to glance down the road I am walking. Too many students, also, are school attenders, degree candidates — too few want to join in the learning. It is a vicious circle, like others in this "open" society. Only in learning community can we move out of this trap.

I want to stop — just a temporary stop on the way. These are marks on paper. They don't matter. It is your life that matters, whoever you are. In America, we are moving from scarcity into abundance. The only hope for human survival is to make that abundance available to all men, without seeking to own them. Now that we don't have to spend our lives toiling for resources and fighting over their allocation, let us start to change. You can help; you and I, now. Let us work to put the hired education in America into business for itself. Let us, who wish to learn, become students. Students, of producing thought; *learning* — the means of production.

Of course. . . .

LEARNERS OF THE WORLD, INCITE!

YOU HAVE NOTHING TO USE BUT YOUR BRAINS!

21 June 1967
Washington, D. C

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